[P. 381, A]

224 [539] I've heard that they cook it and eat it . . . not only here but up north. After they get the rifle they get to killing bears around here but hardly ever hear of dividing up the bear meat."

[825] This last remark appears to be significant as all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears.

[302] Another informant adds the detail that when the bear left his lair, the companions of the man who entered the den would block the entrance so the bear could not return. The first man to place an arrow in the animal could claim it and get the hide. This informant also added at this point: "It's funny that the fella who went inside was just an ordinary fella [emphasis mine]." He also insisted that after a bear was killed the hunting party painted their faces black. Other informants claimed not to know of this or said such painting was done when a mink was killed but they did not know why.

[539] [843] One traditional story (Dangberg) sheds a bit more light on the bear. In this tale a group of Washo were camped near a band of Paiute who challenged the Washo to fight. Instead of fighting, the Washo drove a bear from its den and killed it and thus defeated the Paiute.

[124] I had all but given up the pursuit of information on the bear, being convinced that my informants either honestly did not know any more (the bear having been relatively rare in this area for a good many years) or were unwilling to discuss something of an extremely sacred nature, when a chance remark suggested at least part of the explanation.

224 554 [764] A pioneer white resident who had lived in Alpine County, California, for ninety years casually mentioned that every Indian man who was buried during his boyhood was wrapped in a bearskin shroud. This, coupled with an earlier mention of "rough" men having bearskins, suggests that the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner. The rifle made such acquisitions much less hazardous and [789] [764] in the late nineteenth century it had become common for Indians to own a bearskin cloak, which became their most prized possession and was buried with them.

796 825 171 114 [795] [756] Stewart's element lists show no evidence of any formalized bear cult among the Washo. However, Smith's notes, which Stewart used, report a bear shaman who impersonated a bear (2558). Certainly the bear was one of the spirits who could give power to a man destined to become a shaman. Bear shamanism is reported only for the Fish Spring Valley Paiute by Steward and for the Tago and Wada Northern Paiute by Stewart. These three groups constitute the only ones having formalized bear ceremonialism of any sort in the Basin. The bear dance and a note about impersonating bears (Steward 1941, pp. 246, 322) suggest that formalized bear ceremonialism came into the [177] Basin from the Rocky Mountains via the Ute and Bannock. However, Kroeber reports awe of the bear, special euphemisms for them, and ritualized secrecy about hunting them among the Miwok which seem more closely related to Washo behavior. Bear impersonators among the Battle Mountain Paiute were credited with 825 invulnerability in war, which is reminiscent of the use 771 of a bear-hide cloak by Washo "rough men." Although it is not possible to make any conclusive statement about the role of the bear in the supernatural life of

## CHAPTER II

## ECONOMY

Compared to more technologically advanced societies, the Washo had little processing, storage, or transportation of goods. It was a "direct economy" in that the producing group consumed most of its own products. Distances between the point of distribution and the point of consumption were usually not great.

Economic demands seldom exceeded subsistence requirements so that even when natural supplies were abundant accumulated surpluses were small. Surpluses in pinenuts are an exception to this, but since pinenuts were difficult to store for more than one year or to tranport in profitable quantities, this surplus was set aside for subsistence and not trade. If one family had a surplus in pinenuts there was a tendency for all families to have such a surplus. Therefore these were largely non-tradeable surpluses.[1]

Supply was determined by the productivity of the natural environment and the amount and skill of the human labor used in production and distribution. The part of wealth devoted to acquiring new goods and the social forms involved in production, distribution, and consumption played a minor role in supply.

Pinenuts (tagum), acorns (malung), and other seeds were among the major staple foods. A variety of roots, berries, and leafy plants filled out the rest of the vegetable diet. Animal fats and protein were provided primarily by fish and small mammals, especially rabbits. With the exception of deer (m¢mdewi), the large mammals, such as antelope (ayas), mountain goat (ogul), and bear (taba) were not important in the diet. They were sought as much for their skins and the prestige of killing them as for their meat. Downs (1961, 381) writes "all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears." And there are suggestions that "the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner." Birds, reptiles, and insects were also eaten. Several hundred species of plants and animals were known and used by the Washo. Merriam (n.d.) collected names for over 200 plants and animals. Numerous plants were used as medicines (Train, et al. 1941; Murphey 1959).

Water (dime) was carried and stored in deer intestine bags and basketry water-jars. With the numerous streams and springs in Washo territory no place

1. See pp. 57-58 for a discussion of pinenut surpluses.

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of the relationship is wide, and "spontaneous" in being relatively uninhibited (Davis 1949). Secondary relations are at the other end of the continuum: extrinsic, impersonal, exclusive, and inhibited.

The eight forms of economic distribution as they occur in Washo society can be ordered along this continuum from primary to secondary: (1) ceremonial disposal, (2) familial sharing, (3) task group sharing, (4) gift and ceremonial exchange, (5) feasts, (6) payment for services, (7) gambling, and (8) trade.

In terms of the socio-economic groups involved, only two - familial sharing and task group sharing - are essentially concerned with economic production. The other six are concerned with distribution. This gives us the dichotomy of "producing groups" and "distributing groups". The distribution involved in producing groups takes the general form of sharing (weak reciprocity), while the distribution in distributing groups takes the general form of an exchange (strong reciprocity).

On the basis of a hypothetical breakdown of the total distribution of all economic goods and services in Washo economy we can order these forms on a continuum from the quantitatively most important to the least important: (1) familial sharing, (2) task group sharing, (3) gift and ceremonial exchange, (4) feasts, (5) gambling, (6) trade, (7) payment for services, and (8) ceremonial disposal. Other forms of distribution such as theft (lamamshawi, "thief"), lost (pa) and found (ipu), and the spoils of war did occur but were not important enough to be discussed here.

The following outline presents a few of the qualities of these eight forms of distribution as they appear in Washo society and in the order they will be discussed in the following section of this chapter.

"Primary" Distribution

1. Familial Sharing: based on division of labor by sex and age in the household; quantitatively most important. [462] (592)
2. Task Group Sharing: based on the breakdown of products from producing groups larger than the household.
3. Gift and Ceremonial Exchange: strong reciprocity: social status primary; connected with hospitality and life cycle events. [554]
4. Feasts: an abundance of food distributed by kin, task, or communal group. [574]
5. Ceremonial Disposal: based on supernatural beliefs.

involved in production was partially lost in distribution because of the communal pooling for use purposes of food, clothing, and shelter. That pooling was not complete is evidenced in the fact that all products made by a deceased person were destroyed. Also clothing and implements were personal belongings and individually owned to a considerable degree.

The older people were the major authority figures as long as they were economically influential. With skill and experience they led their households and communities in every phase of life. However, older people who became an extreme burden on the household because of blindness or other disabilities were deserted and left to die. There are indications that this desertion was met with resignation on the part of the old person and with grief by the family, but was deemed inevitable. A corollary to this was the belief that persons acquired often dangerous supernatural powers with age (cf., Freed and Freed n.d.). Thus, well intentioned gifts from grandparents to grandchildren may be inadvertently harmful.

Generally everyone ate at the same time with the major meal often in the late afternoon. Producing men ate the most and producing women came next. Non-producing old people and children were resented for their supposedly great appetites and in practice probably ate much less than the others. Old people and children were often given the boiling stones and stirring sticks to lick off the cooked meal. Dangberg (n.d., 30) indicates that children were often fed rabbit brains, which adults did not prefer. Mothers prechewed solid foods for infants.

Familial sharing was extended beyond the household primarily through hospitality to visitors. In times of hunger whole households without food might move in with relatives or even unrelated neighbors. In this case private property such as cooking utensils were not pooled, but the food was shared. The two groups living together would cook separately. The guests would be expected to gather wood, bring in water, go hunting, and make what contribution they could.

There were starvation (bisha basha) times, particularly in the late winter, when the household would hide its food, even from relatives. Hank Pete said he heard of starving people who would tear apart their rabbit skin robes to chew the fat off the hides and divide a chipmunk between a whole family. It is said that people could go for ten to fifteen days without eating. Women would give their portions to the men and children because it was believed the women could go longer without eating. A different inventory of foods was used that would never be eaten in ordinary times.

involved in gift and ceremonial exchange was culturally defined in specific ways and had more of a ritual quality than familial sharing. The transfer of goods between households in setting up a marriage involved a formal sequence of gift and counter-gift that might go on for over a year. It involved a stronger demand for reciprocity than familial sharing and in some cases had the characteristics of trade. The negotiation, however, was implicit and not directly verbalized as it is in trade.

Gift and ceremonial exchange is, in economic terms an "exchange" while familial sharing and task group sharing are not. There tended to be a time lapse between the giving of a gift and a return gift. The gift was usually accepted without question of its value. Social status was a primary factor in gift and ceremonial exchange.

It was in connection with the life cycle events of birth, puberty, marriage, and death that gift and ceremonial exchange became customary and highly integrated with social ritual. Birth and puberty were also occasions for fasting and exercise of food taboos. These are two customs that should be included in any analysis of food distribution. The taboo on meat and salt occurred at these times and at every menstruation while salt was never considered good for children.

Childbirth among the Washo was a long and arduous affair involving fasting for both parents and extensive gift giving. A midwife prepared a bed with woven sagebrush bark mat over warm sand. If the child was in a poor position for delivery the midwife manipulated the child within the mother. As the delivery was being effected usually one or two women came in to help. A buckskin belt was tied around the mother above the child and the belt was worked down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. As the child was being born the midwife recited a short exhortation to the child: "Hurry up and come out so I can see you."

The umbilical cord was cut by the midwife about four inches from the child's abdomen and then tied with string or sinew one inch from the child's abdomen. Following this was the washing of the baby, the careful burial of the afterbirth, and intricate care of the mother. The mother was given the sap of the sugarpine dissolved in warm water and massaged with a greasy salve. The mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt for a period of a month after the child was born. She could not eat anything but a thin pine-nut soup, and she could not be washed until the umbilical cord fell from the child, a period of about four days. At the end of her period in bed, usually nine or ten days, the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

The baby was wrapped in furs and placed on a sagebrush bark mat in a temporary cradle. A new temporary cradle was used after each bath.

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lowest level of a seven point scale of culture for native North America.

Trade, warfare, and communication provide the avenues for cultural diffusion. If these avenues of communication lead to technologically advanced cultures, we can expect economic development even if custom is sanctified and the force of tradition is great. The greatest barrier to Washo economic development seems to have been their isolated territorial location. They were isolated from the surrounding high cultures in the Southwest, California, and the Northwest Coast. Barriers to trade were discussed above (pp. 50-51): mountain terrain, language differences, climatic extremes, lack of significant tradeable surpluses, location of sufficient resources within Washo territory, and inter-tribal hatreds. These barriers to trade were also barriers to economic development in that lines of diffusion remained weak.

433 439 177 [033] [628]

Washo society was neither inventively productive nor absorptive. It does not appear to represent a focal point for the development of any new and more efficient solutions to the problems of survival. It appears rather, to have developed from big game hunting to a slightly more efficient base of hunting, fishing, and gathering. This development may have derived from the influence of Shoshoneans. More efficient techniques of gathering and storing fish might have raised their economy to the level of most Californians. Even in historic times the Washo have been slow in adopting agriculture and animal husbandry.

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Manning Nash (Adams, et al, n.d., 23) suggested that the household was not a very viable unit for economic expansion "because it is such a multifunctional unit." Unlike the modern business firm, the household has many non-economic functions which conflict with its economic functions. This multifunctional character was present in all Washo socioeconomic groups.

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The fact that the Washo did survive in their environment with a simple technology attests to the culture's efficiency and viability. We simply raise the question of why they did not develop a more advanced economy and suggest that the kind of economy they had, with little inter-tribal trade and an orientation to the household, was a barrier to this development.

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## Prestige Economy and Money

The concept of a "prestige economy" came into use after DuBois (1936, 50) defined the economic involvement in acquiring prestige among the Tolowa-Tututni. She defined prestige economy as "a series of social prerogatives

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and status values" as opposed to the subsistence economy which is "the exploitation of the plentiful natural resources available to any industrious individual." Among the Washo material goods flow almost indiscriminately in promoting subsistence and prestige. Washo social prerogatives and status values are intimately intertwined with the exploitation of natural resources.

Cappannari (1960, 140) wrote that "DuBois...makes clear that the 'monies' (that is, dentalia, woodpecker scalps, obsidian blades, and so on) of the Tolowa-Tututni served as a medium of exchange primarily in the prestige economy rather that the subsistence economy. The same applies to the 'monies' of the Shoshoneans." Money in this sense is a counter of prestige, usually items of highly congealed value in the world of social ritual, but not fully explained in terms of food, shelter, or defense. Prestige money is found among the Washo in the case of eagle feathers and fine woven baskets. These have congealed values for purposes of social ritual. They are also more significant in the context of social ritual than in the context of economic actuality, although ritual and economics coincide at many points.

Money is defined by Driver and Massey (1957, 382) as "material which possesses homogeneity, portability, divisibility, durability, and which serves as a medium of exchange, as a store of value, and as a standard of deferred payments." Pinenuts came the closest to being used as a "money" in Washo economy except that pinenuts were not very durable and lacked the compactness to serve as a concentrated store of value. Salt, eagle tail feathers, baskets, and skins were more concentrated in value. The Washo had no regular medium of exchange and no standard of deferred payments. In the definition used here they had no money. Three terms are now used to refer to wealth: bilada is U. S. currency, gidatwadota is a person's belongings, and m¢mgiwa is the wealth a person has with which to gamble or "a bet."

## Overproduction

In Washo society some economic products were never distributed. This "problem of surplus" existed, in a society where starvation was well known, because storage and transportation were inadequate and trade was poorly developed.

An example is the overproduction of pinenuts. In years with abundant pinenuts, more was gathered than would actually be consumed. Since some nuts would be preserved into the next year this was a stored margin of safety in case the next year's crop was low. If pinenuts were again abundant, the remainder of the old crop that was not consumed was left to rot and the new nuts were gathered. Actually, any single grove of pinon trees will not

7: Freed NT20 Washo NT20

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593 /For the statistical analyses of the results of the role-profile test and their application to the status and role of the individual in the society in relationship to primary and secondary kin relations, see category 116, pp. 372-375, 379(A)--413./

[P. 364, B]

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quate explanation of the changes in the Washo kinship system although it is considerably more helpful than the other two theories discussed above.

## SUGGESTED EXPLANATION FOR TERMINOLOGICAL CHANGES

The hypothesis here proposed to explain the alternate Washo kinship terms is that changes occurring outside of social organization can affect the terminological system without first modifying the residence rule or other elements of social structure. This hypothesis is based on the assumption that kinship terminology is closely correlated with patterned norms of behavior, or "roles." This assumption is most reasonable, for, as Murdock notes, it accords "with the overwhelming testimony of the data surveyed for the present study, and with the experience and the declared or admitted views of nearly all competent anthropological authorities" (1949, p. 112). If this assumption is provisionally accepted, the proposed hypothesis may be restated: role behavior and its associated system of kinship terminology may be directly affected by cultural changes without any changes necessarily taking place in the formal social structure. Or we may use the terminology proposed by Raymond Firth and say that within any given type of "social structure" many different forms of "social organization" may exist (Firth, 1951, pp. 39-40; 1954).

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The principal difference between this hypothesis and Murdock's theory is in the elaboration of the role concept. Murdock does not explicitly deal with roles although he implies the concept when he speaks of similarities and differences between kin-types. Murdock distinguishes five kinds of similarities and differences (1949, pp. 136-137):

Coincidence: a similarity between two kin-types owing to the probability that the members of both are the same persons, as can happen as a result of certain social equalizers. Sororal polygyny, for example, tends to equate WiSi with Wi.

Proximity: a similarity or dissimilarity in spatial relations. For example, matrilocal residence, by bringing Mo and MoSi together as close neighbors or even actual housemates, operates as a social equalizer to make more likely their designation by a single classificatory term, and by separating FaSi spatially from both of them operates as a social differential to favor the application of a special kinship term to her.

Participation: a similarity or dissimilarity in group membership. Thus patrilineal descent places BrDa and Da in the same lineage, sib, or moiety and SiDa in a separate group, thereby promoting extension of the term for Da to BrDa and differentiation of the term for SiDa.

Analogy: a similarity relative to a parallel relationship. Extension of the term "mother" to MoSi, for example, acts as a social equalizer in the case of MoSiDa, increasing her likelihood of being called "sister" even under patrilineal descent when Si and MoSiDa are usually neither sibmates nor neighbors.

Immateriality: a negative similarity resulting from the functional unimportance of the relatives of two kin-types, whereby a sufficient basis for

[P.365, A]

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> differentiating them is lacking. Immateriality appears chiefly with respect to distant relatives. In the English kinship system, for example, it operates as an equalizer to favor the extension of the term "cousin" to various distant relatives of little importance, without reference to distinctions of sex, generation, or collaterality.

Murdock's similarities and differences are aspects of role behavior, but they are aspects which are strongly determined by elements of formal social structure. This being so, he can trace the effects of social structure upon systems of kinship terminology without dealing with role behavior, for it is so closely tied to the formal social structure as to lack the characteristics of an independent variable. This thesis suggests that roles are characterized by many more qualities than those listed by Murdock and that some of them vary considerably within the limits set by a given type of social structure. Cultural changes can therefore cause terminological change by altering role behavior without affecting the formal social structure.

The role concept has been used in various ways by other authors. Radcliffe-Brown (1935) once argued that apparent discrepancies between social structures and terminological systems in some Californian tribes were due to the fact that systems of terminology correlate with "social usage" rather than gross social structure. Radcliffe-Brown's social usage seems roughly equivalent to role behavior. Role behavior has been used explicitly in two recent kinship studies: Schneider and Roberts (1956) propose the concept of role to account for alternate usages in the Zuni kinship systems; and Schneider and Homans (1955) suggest that alternate terms in the American kinship system, such as "father," "dad," and "pop," reflect differences in role behavior. The central hypothesis of this monograph derives directly from these two papers.

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From the hypothesis that roles and terms are closely correlated and are capable of being influenced by cultural factors we may draw the following inferences regarding Washo role behavior and the emerging Washo kinship system. Since cousins are being terminologically distinguished from siblings, the roles for cousins and siblings should be significantly different. The role of mother's brother should not be significantly different from the role of father's brother, and the role of brother's child should not differ significantly from the role of sister's child, for in both cases, kin-types which are distinguished in the standard terminology are merged in the alternate terminological system. The roles associated with the rest of the standard kinship terms should all differ significantly from one another because they have remained terminologically distinct.

It is apparent that an explanation based on detailed comparisons of roles cannot use subjective assessments of similarities and differences between roles. A technique for describing roles is required which yields data that can be treated statistically. Such a technique, called the role profile test, was developed for this research. It is thought to give a more exact and sensitive picture of Washo role behavior than that which may be obtained solely through observations and interviews, and the statistical analysis of the test protocols gives an objective measure of similarities and differences in role behavior.

The inferences presented above will be tested with data derived from use of the role profile test. It will

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be seen that the data strongly support the foregoing inferences, thereby supporting the validity of the assumption of a close fit between role and term. The close correlation of role and term together with the fact that the Washo kinship system is changing in spite of a relatively stable social structure supports the hypothesis that roles may vary considerably within the limits set by a given configuration of social structure, the variation being due to causes which lie outside of the social organization.

## THE ROLE PROFILE TEST

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The role profile test makes use of sixteen categories for describing interpersonal behavior developed by Freedman, Leary, Ossorio, and Coffey (1951). I have slightly modified the categories and converted them into a questionnaire, which appears below. As conceived by Freedman and his associates, the sixteen categories were arranged in a circle. This emphasizes an important feature of the conceptual scheme. It has four nodal points: dominance, affiliation, submission, and hostility. These nodal points occur in the questionnaire at Question 1 (dominance), Question 5 (affiliation), Question 9 (submission), and Question 13 (hostility). The questions between the nodes combine the nodal qualities in varying degrees. For example, "to teach" (Question 2) is a combination of dominance and affiliation; "to punish" (Question 14) is a combination of hostility and dominance.

### Questionnaire of the Role Profile Test

1. Which relative most often tries to tell you what to do? Which most often gives you orders (or bosses you)?
2. Which relative most often teaches you how to do something? Which one gives you advice or tells you his opinions?
3. Which relative is most likely to help you if you need it?
4. Which relative is most likely to feel bad and sympathize with you when something goes wrong?
5. Which relative is specially fond of you?
6. Which relative most often coöperates (works together) with you?
7. Which relative depends on you most and most often asks your help?
8. Which relative respects you the most? Which one asks your opinions?
9. Which relative obeys (minds) you if you tell him or her to do something?
10. Which relative is most eager for your approval?
11. Which relative would be the most likely to say or think you did something wrong (or bad)?
12. Which relative nags you most?
13. Which relative disapproves of you and criticizes you most often?
14. Which relative punishes you or gets angry (or mad) if you don't mind or if you do something wrong (or bad)?
15. Which relative is most likely to refuse you help even if you need it pretty badly?
16. Which relative would be most likely not to want to have anything at all to do with you?

The role profile test is administered as follows.

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can break up a developing pattern in an informant's responses. This precaution was not followed in the present study because its importance was not realized until the field work was almost completed.

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Finally, the sample tested should be random. This is probably the most difficult of all the precautions to observe, for many persons will refuse to work with the investigator. Approximately twenty Washo refused with varying degrees of firmness to work with me. Of these, probably half would have, eventually weakened because I could have brought pressure to bear through some of their relatives. This still would leave a sizable number of adamant refusals. In small, homogeneous groups like the Washo, the lack of a random sample is probably less serious than in larger, more heterogeneous societies.

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In the present study, the above-mentioned precautions were carried out less fully than they might have been because the importance of some of them became clear only as the work progressed. The first four may be observed with no particular difficulty. I regard numbers one and four as particularly important. The problem of obtaining a random sample presents the most difficulty, but the effort must be made so that statistically valid inferences may be drawn about the larger population.

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The role profile test deals only with the qualitative characteristics of roles. It indicates that a role ranks high in teaching or helping or fondness and low in submission or hostility. But roles also differ in their content. For example, both mother and father help a person, but the nature of the help differs. The mother cooks for an individual and mends his clothes; the father helps him to fix his car or to build a house. The role profile test tells us only that something is taught, but it does not tell us what is taught. The content of the teaching or helping or punishing distinguishes roles as much as the qualities of the roles. Among the Washo, the differences in the content of roles generally follow sexual lines. For the most part, this study does not deal with these differences in content; but it will be seen that content must be taken into account in distinguishing between the roles of the members of the nuclear family who are of opposite sex and in the same generation.

## THE SAMPLE TESTED

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The role profile test was administered to 47 of approximately 280 Washo living in the vicinity of Gardnerville, Nevada, and Woodfords, California. An effort was made to select a sample with an equal number of men and women, and one in which the young, middle-aged, and old were represented fairly equally. However, the persons within these categories were not selected randomly. The sample contains 20 men: five are thirty-five years of age or younger; 9 are from thirty-six to fifty-four years of age; and 6 are fifty-five years of age or older. The sample contains 27 women: 10 are thirty-five years of age or younger; 11 are thirty-six to fifty-four years of age; and 6 are fifty-five years of age or older. No one was tested who was under fourteen or who had less than seven different kinds of relatives. This reduced the number of young people who could be tested. The reluctance of the older Washo to mention dead relatives meant that many of the older people would not give all their relatives in the genealogical interviews, or would re-

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fuse to be interviewed at all. This reduced somewhat the number of old people in the sample. Two people could not finish the test: one old woman, after completing four questions, burst into tears at the mention of a dead relative; and a young woman could not finish the last six questions, for she rejected the idea that any of her relatives could be hostile. The questions these women finished are perfectly usable and have been included in the analysis.

The sample includes 4 blind people, 4 others with whom I had to use interpreters, and 8 people who were illiterate. None of these 16 persons could manipulate the slips of paper by themselves. They could take the test, for they retained a mental list of the relatives involved and verbally directed the investigator as to the arrangement of the slips. The order of relatives was read back to them and they continued to make adjustments until they were satisfied. They handled the test fairly well, but not so well as people who could arrange the slips of paper themselves. This fact probably increases the variability of the protocols.

## STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

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The purpose of this analysis is to reduce the data to a form in which the patterns of role behavior become apparent, and their similarities and differences can easily be compared. Since the sample was not chosen at random from the population, inferences drawn from it about the larger population are, statistically speaking, dangerous.

Two factors make the handling of the data troublesome: (1) the number of relatives contained in the particular protocols is different, ranging from seven to fourteen; and (2) protocols with the same number of relatives often contain different kinds of relatives. The ordinary, nonparametric methods of treating ranked data assume that each individual ranks the same set of objects. Another possible method of analysis involves the construction of preference matrices for all relatives in all sixteen behavioral categories. This idea was discarded because the size of the matrices, together with the variability and the smallness of the numbers in the cells, did not seem to promise sufficient returns for the work involved.

Consequently, the question of quantifying the data was studied. Because of the unequal number of relatives in the various protocols and because the relatives were often different in kind, some sort of metric seemed unavoidable. Consider a specific category of behavior and assume that the characteristic which determines a person's rank can be measured numerically and is distributed normally in the population. Let X equal the numerical value of the characteristic. Then X is a normally distributed random variable which, for convenience and with no loss of generality, we can assume has mean zero and variance one, that is, approximately 68 per cent of the population have values of X between -1 and +1. Thus, there are a few individuals who have the characteristic to a marked positive degree leading to an almost certain rank of one in any comparison, and a few individuals who have the characteristic to a marked negative degree leading to an almost certain lowest rank.

Now suppose that you have a judge and you take a random sample of n individuals from the population and ask him to rank them. Further, suppose that you repeat this indefinitely with samples of n. Now consider

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the average value of X for all individuals who receive the rank r. For any given value of X, say x, the probability that you will get a sample of n in which exactly (r - 1) will have values of $X > x$ and $(n - r)$ will have values of $X < x$ while one will have a value in the interval $(x, x + dx)$ is

$$\frac{n!}{(r-1)!\ (n-r)!} q_1^{n-r} q_2^{r-1} q_3$$

where $q_1$, $q_2$, and $q_3$ are the probabilities respectively for falling short of x, exceeding x, and falling in the interval $(x, x + dx)$.

More precisely, to within terms of order dx,

$$q_1 = \int_{-\infty}^{x} \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi}} e^{\frac{-t^2}{2}}\, dt,$$

$$q_2 = \int_{x}^{\infty} \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi}} e^{\frac{-t^2}{2}}\, dt,$$

$$q_3 = \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi}} e^{\frac{-x^2}{2}}\, dx.$$

The formula for the expected or mean value, $\mu_r$, of the rth rank can then be written as follows

$$\mu_r = \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} \frac{n!}{(r-1)!\ (n-r)!}\, x \cdot q_1^{n-r} q_2^{r-1} \cdot \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi}} e^{\frac{-x^2}{2}}\, dx.$$

A table for the values of $\mu_r$ is given in Fisher and Yates (1953, pp. 76-77).

Admittedly in our data, the samples of n were not selected at random since they consist of all the relatives of the ranker in three selected generations. However, the Washo are a small, homogeneous, interrelated group; therefore, the relatives of one person are probably quite similar to the relatives of any other person. Taking this into consideration, it was thought that the relatives ranked by a given individual would have sufficient spread over the range of a characteristic to make the use of the metric $\mu_r$ meaningful. At the very least, the use of normal scores is a device which enables one to put rankings of, say, fourteen items and rankings of, say, seven items on numerical scales which are comparable.

If the kinship terms have no effect on the ranking within the categories, then the assignment of the kinship terms to the particular individuals being ranked would be at random. Thus, the rank of "father" would depend on the specific characteristics of the individual being ranked and not on the fact that he is called father. Consequently, it would seem that since individuals vary, the rankings of "father" would also vary from protocol to protocol. If, however, it were found that the rank of "father" is relatively constant, then it would seem that the kinship term "father" has a weight in determining rankings.

After normal scores had been assigned to the test rankings, the mean, standard error of the mean, and 95 per cent confidence limits were calculated for each

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relative in all sixteen categories. The mean was calculated as follows:

$$\bar{X} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{N} Xi}{N}.$$

The standard error of the mean was calculated by the formula

$$S_{\bar{X}}^2 = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{N} (Xi - \bar{X})^2}{N - 1}.$$

The 95 per cent confidence limits were estimated by the formula

$$\bar{X} \pm 2S_{\bar{X}}$$

(When x is distributed normally, the confidence coefficient corresponding to the interval $\bar{X} \pm 2S_{\bar{X}}$ is .954).

An inspection of the lengths of the confidence intervals revealed no striking differences among them. Comparisons of the end points of the confidence intervals showed the differences among the means of many relatives in each category of behavior to be significant because of the lack of overlap between the confidence intervals.

The male and female protocols were analyzed separately because it was assumed that roles are enacted somewhat differently toward men and women. That this assumption is correct is shown by the table on p. 395 (bottom). If the male and female protocols had been lumped, some of the differences in role behavior could have been obscured whenever the sex differences happenned to cancel each other. The fact that the male and female test protocols give slightly different results does not mean that we are dealing with two separate societies or that Washo society is stratified or segmented in any way. Since the Washo are one society and have essentially one kinship system, a significant distinction between two roles occurring among either men or women is regarded as a distinction obtaining for the whole society. Therefore, the following definition of role difference is used in this study: if the confidence intervals about the means of two roles fail to overlap in any category of behavior for either men or women, the roles are considered to differ significantly.

The results of the statistical analysis are given in Appendices I and II. Appendix III contains the graphs of the means of all the roles investigated. These graphs of means are called role profiles. Appendix IV presents the graphs of the sixteen categories with the kinship roles on the x axis.

## ROLE BEHAVIOR

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One general observation may be made before examining Washo kinship role by role. This concerns the distinctiveness of almost all the roles. The Washo are among the bilateral tribes of the Great Basin, Plateau, and California which are generally thought to contain little significant kinship patterning apart from family relationships. Murdock has investigated this

[p. 368, B]

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problem among the Tenino of central Oregon. He found a good deal of kinship patterning and concludes that there is considerable patterning of kinship behavior even in the simpler, sibless tribes (Murdock, 1949, pp. 111-112). The present study presents additional evidence in support of Murdock. The table on p. 395 (top) is a compilation of role comparisons indicating where the differences in the means are significant. This table shows Washo kinship behavior to be far from amorphous.

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The role data are summarized below. The letters in parentheses after the kin terms are the abbreviations used in the appendices. The order in which the roles are given here is the same order observed in all the appendices.

Father (F). This relative ranks high in dominance (Categories 1-4), fairly high in affiliation (Categories 5-6), rather neutral in submission (Categories 7-10), and generally low in hostility. There is some ambivalence in the role of father regarding hostility because he is a disciplinarian for both men and women as shown by his high score in Category 14. In addition, women see him as a mildly suspicious and disapproving figure (Category 11). The only category where the role of father differs for men and women is Category 2 (to teach).

Father's brother (FB). This role differs considerably for men and women. He is a much more important relative for men than for women as indicated by his higher rating in all categories except the last two, which show rejection. The role differs significantly for men and women in Categories 2 (to teach) and 9 (to obey), and the difference comes very close to being significant in Category 1 (to order). The general role profile of father's brother for women is that of an unimportant relative with whom there is little interaction. The general role profile for men is roughly the same as that of father, the significant differences occurring in the first two categories.

Father's sister (FS). The role profile for father's sister is similar for both men and women. She is a rather cold and hostile figure; she ranks high only in hostility (Categories 11-13) and rejection (Categories 15 and 16). Although she is a disapproving relative, she possesses no disciplinary power over ego as shown by her negative score in Category 14. The role profile of father's sister is similar to that of mother's sister but ranks lower in most qualities except hostility and rejection. This is true for both men and women.

Mother (M). The role profile for mother is similar to that for father. She ranks high in dominance and affiliation, lower in submission, and low in hostility. Like father, she is a disciplinarian, as indicated by her fairly high score in Category 14. Category 11 (to suspect wrongdoing) shows a significant distinction between the male and female profiles, the women seeing their mothers as more suspicious. A similar distinction occurs for the father role, although the difference in role behavior is not significant. The mother is the most important and distinctive relative for a Washo. The table on p. 395 (top) gives 190 significant distinctions between mother and all other roles. This number is far more than the next closest relative, father, with 133.

Mother's brother (MB). This relative is neutral in dominance and affiliation, and low in submission, for both men and women. Mother's brother is a

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more suspicious and hostile figure for women than for men (Categories 11, 12, 13, and 14). For the most part, mother's brother is a rather neutral figure showing few large positive or negative scores.

Mother's sister (MS). This relative is a much more dominating figure for women than for men. The difference is significant in Category 2 (to teach). Mother's sister is neutral in affection for both males and females, ranks higher in submission for males, and fairly high in hostility towards both. Her rather high score in Category 13 for both men and women shows her to be a disapproving and critical relative.

Older brother (OB). The most distinctive feature of this role is its neutrality. Its scores in all categories are close to zero. This probably is due to older brother's ambiguous age position. He is older than ego but not a member of ego's parents' generation. Consequently, his role has attributes both of equality and of superiority. The result is a role lacking distinctive features.

Younger brother (YB). This is another role lacking distinctive features. The probable explanation is similar to that used for older brother: younger brother is ambivalent regarding age position, for he is younger than ego and yet a member of the same generation. The significant differences between older and younger brother occur in the first two categories. Older brother is a much more dominating figure than younger brother.

Older sister (OS). This role is quite different for men and women. For women, she is a mildly dominant and highly coöperative relative. For men, she is neutral in dominance, affiliation, and submission, but ranks high as a disapproving, critical, and suspicious relative. Significant differences in the roles occur in Categories 2 (to teach) and 6 (to cooperate).

Younger sister (YS). The role of younger sister is quite similar to that of younger brother. It lacks distinctive features, seeming to fall between the roles of daughter and older sister. This is probably due to younger sister's position as a member of ego's generation who is younger than ego.

Male cousin (MaC) and Female cousin (FeC). These role profiles are based on a small number of protocols, since not many people use the cousin terms. Consequently, the profiles should be viewed with much less confidence than those of other relatives. The profiles indicate that cousins are unimportant relatives with whom there is little interaction. An apparent exception is the behavior of female cousins towards females in Category 13 (to disapprove).

Son (So). This relative ranks low in dominance and hostility and high in affection and submission. The profiles for men and women are similar.

Daughter (D). The role profiles for daughter closely resemble those of son; but there is more difference in the male and female profiles than there is for son. The difference is significant in Category 2 (to teach). Large differences also occur in Categories 6 (to coöperate), 7 (to depend), and 8 (to respect) with the profile for women scoring considerably higher.

Brother's child (BCh). This is a relative with whom there is little interaction. He ranks very low in dominance, low in affiliation, low to neutral in submission, and low in hostility. The profiles

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for men and women are quite similar.

Sister's child (SCh). The role profiles of this relative are almost identical with those of brother's child. Sister's child ranks very low in dominance, low in affiliation, and low to neutral in submission and hostility. The role profiles for men and women are very similar.

A different perspective on Washo role behavior can be obtained from the graphs of the categories.[1] They facilitate comparison of the sixteen roles within the behavioral categories.

Category 1 (to order). The most important relatives in this category are those who are older than ego. Father and mother attain the highest score for both males and females. Father's brother and father's sister for females and mother's brother for males are exceptions to the general rule that older relatives rank high in dominance.

Category 2 (to teach). As might be expected, relatives who are older than ego are ranked high. Older relatives who do not rank high are father's brother and father's sister for females and older sister for males.

Category 3 (to help). Mother and father attain high scores for both men and women. Father's brother and older brother are fairly high for men; older brother, mother's sister, and older sister attain positive scores for women.

Category 4 (to sympathize). Mother and father are the most sympathetic relatives. In addition, a man expects sympathy from his mother's sister and older brother, and a woman from her older brother, older sister, and younger brother.

Category 5 (to like). For women, the important relatives are mother and father. Older brother, older sister, son, and daughter also attain positive scores. All are members of the nuclear family. For males, affection is more widely diffused outside the nuclear family. However, men do not feel themselves as intensely liked as women: note the higher scores of father and mother for females.

Category 6 (to coöperate). There is considerable difference between men and women. The relatives who coöperate with men are men and those who coöperate with women are women. Note also the higher scores of the relatives who coöperate with women as opposed to those who coöperate with men.

Category 7 (to depend). This category of behavior is surprisingly undifferentiated for men. Mother is the only really dependent person. Even son and daughter rank low in dependence. Women see their children as highly dependent upon them.

Category 8 (to respect). One's children are the most respectful relatives. Mother also ranks high in this category. Women feel somewhat more respected than men, as indicated by the scores for daughter and mother.

Category 9 (to obey). The most obedient relatives are son, daughter, and the younger siblings, all of whom are younger than ego. A person has little authority over younger people if they are not members of his nuclear family, as indicated by the scores for brother's child and sister's child.

Category 10 (to want approval). For women, the only positive scores are achieved by members of the nuclear family. Men show a slight positive score for father's brother and mother's sister. As

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 372 - 375 --Am.]

[P 390; A]

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in Category 5 (to like), women confine their significant interactions to the family while men have more diffuse and less strongly structured relationships. This is made quite clear by the table of significant distinctions on p. 391 (right). Only two significant distinctions occur among the male role profiles; among the female role profiles, 31 significant distinctions occur.

Category 11 (to suspect wrongdoing). For men, the suspicious relatives are father's brother, father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Women have a greater number of suspicious relatives: father, father's sister, mother, mother's brother, and older siblings.

Category 12 (to nag). This is a relatively undifferentiated category. For men, older sister scores higher than all other relatives. Women seem to have no outstanding relatives in this category.

Category 13 (to disapprove). The nodal category for hostility shows a remarkable similarity between male and female role profiles. The only hostile relatives, and they are only mildly hostile, are father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Female cousin may be ignored because the cousin profiles are based on but a few protocols. Category 13 for men is similar to Category 11 for men. I can offer no explanation for the concentration of hostility in older female relatives.

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Category 14 (to punish). Older relatives are most prominent in this category. Father's sister is an exception for both men and women and father's brother for women. This category, together with Categories 1 and 2, shows that father's siblings lack dominance over women.

Category 15 (to refuse help). This category emphasizes the nuclear family relationships of father, mother, son, and daughter. They are the relatives with the lowest scores.

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Category 16 (to reject). This category illustrates even more clearly than Category 15 the closeness of a person to his father, mother, son, and daughter.

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Some interesting inferences can be drawn from this review of categories. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly emphasized, especially the father, mother, son, and daughter relationships. Second, neither patrilineal relatives nor matrilineal relatives receive greater emphasis; the two groups of relatives have equal importance. Third, there is an interesting difference between men and women. If Appendix D is examined, it will be seen that men have many more significant distinctions among roles in the categories probing dominance (1-4 and 13-16) than in the categories testing submission. Women have a closer to equal number of significant distinctions among roles in the categories probing dominance as in the categories testing for submission. In other words, men tend to see their relationships regarding who dominates them as clearly structured, but are much less clear as to whom they dominate; women see their relationship with subordinate relatives to be structured almost as clearly as their relationships with dominant ones. This may be an indication that Washo males tend to lack self-confidence and that Washo women may have made a more satisfactory adjustment to modern conditions than have the men.

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This inference receives support from my observations. Men seemed less inclined to put themselves in

1/2 [see cat. 116, p. 387, A -- Am.]

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a situation where their egos could be threatened. For example, they were more reluctant to be interviewed and to take the role profile test.

The apparent differences in the adjustment of Washo men and women resemble the different adjustments to modern conditions made by men and women among the Saulteaux and Ojibwa. Hallowell made a study of acculturation and personality changes among the Saulteaux and concluded that women are better adjusted than men because the male aspects of culture have changed more through acculturation (1942, p. 48). Caudill studied the psychological characteristics of acculturated Ojibwa and also concluded that women seem to make a more satisfactory adjustment to the conditions of modern life than do men (1949, p. 425). The Washo role data can be interpreted as supporting the psychological studies of Hallowell and Caudill.

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## ROLE BEHAVIOR AND THE NEW TERMINOLOGICAL SYSTEM

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The data from the role profile test support the inferences presented at the beginning of this chapter. The table of significant distinctions in Appendix II (p. 395, top) presents the relevant data. As predicted: (1) there are no significant distinctions between either the roles of mother's brother and father's brother or the roles of brother's child and sister's child; and (2) the roles of cousins are well distinguished from the roles of siblings. Older brother and younger brother are both distinguished from male cousin seven times. Older sister is distinguished from female cousin nine times; younger sister is distinguished from female cousin three times. That cousins are well distinguished from siblings while mother's brother resembles father's brother and brother's child is similar to sister's child can be clearly seen from figures 2 to 9 on pp. 372-375.

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The inference that the roles associated with the stable parts of the kinship terminology all differ significantly from each other is supported reasonably well by the test data. However, there are five apparent exceptions: no significant distinctions exist between the roles of father and mother, son and daughter, younger brother and younger sister, mother's brother and older brother, and mother's brother and father's sister. The first three exceptions can be easily explained. These relatives are nuclear family members of opposite sex and the same generation. They do not differ in the qualities of their roles, but the sex distinction makes for significant differences in the content of the roles. However, the similarity in the qualities of the roles of father and mother and son and daughter is not ignored in the kinship terminology, for the Washo have two terms meaning "parent" and one meaning "child." In only two instances does role behavior fail to agree with terminological usage: mother's brother is not distinguished from either older brother or father's sister. Consequently, of the 120 possible comparisons among the roles of the three generations studied, 118 support the assumption of a close fit of role and terminological system.

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Since the terminological system is apparently changing in the face of a relatively stable social structure, at least some of the causes of this change lie outside social organization. What are the cultural causes which appear capable of modifying Washo role behavior so as to produce the emerging system of kinship terminology? In the case of the cousin terms, we must seek

[P.391, A]

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cultural causes which would reduce the importance of cousins as compared to siblings, thus setting the stage for the terminological distinction. This result would tend to follow the introduction of a money economy and the subsequent individualization of the society. As we have seen, coöperative activity has lessened among the Washo; and this presumably has meant that distant relatives are not as important as they once were. Consequently, the roles played by cousins have become progressively different from the roles of siblings, and this has been reflected in the kinship terminology. The

[Text Continues TOP of P 391, B]

## CONCLUSION

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This study has presented an analysis of changes in Washo culture and social organization. It has suggested that the changes in the Washo system of kinship terminology can be explained best by the hypothesis that cultural factors may affect kinship terminology directly instead of indirectly by first modifying elements of formal social structure, such as residence rules and kinds of kin groups. This hypothesis hinged on showing that role behavior is closely correlated with kinship terminology. This assumption was substantially verified by data derived from the role profile test; the Washo role behavior was shown to correlate closely with the new, emerging kinship system. Since changes in formal social structure could not adequately account for changes in the terminological system, it was concluded that cultural factors have directly affected role behavior, thereby causing terminological modification. Finally, some possible cultural factors were suggested to account for changes in role behavior.

[Text Continues bottom of P 391, B]

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merging of mother's brother and father's brother and of brother's child and sister's child probably is due to three major causes. The first is the individualization of the society, which reduces the importance of relatives not in the nuclear family; the second is the loss of nonsororeal polygyny; and the third is the knowledge of the English kinship terminology, which may function as a kind of model for the new Washo kinship terminology. The cultural causes of the changes in Washo kinship terminology suggested here must be regarded only as hypotheses. Their verification requires comparative data.

## CONCLUSION

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The role profile test provided much of the data upon which the foregoing demonstration has been based. It has shown itself to be a useful and sensitive instrument for the collection of role data. Its principal value is that it can be treated statistically, and this permits objective role comparisons within a society. Such comparisons can be made just as easily between societies, provided the same statistical analysis is used. The test has some limitations. First, it deals only with the qualities of roles and does not test for their content. Second, the categories may have to be modified from society to society, for there is no certainty that the categories used for the Washo would be satisfactory for other tribes. The test is not meant to replace observation and interviewing; but at the same time it reveals role patterning that would escape all but the most careful and prolonged field work. The role profile test seems to me a most promising technique for the study of role behavior.

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20



Though some say that this reveals disrespect for "the medicine," rival Peyotists do boast of their prowess by comparing the number of "buttons" they were able to eat during a single night.

The concept of disease also appears to stem from traditional beliefs. Thus it is said that the roadchief, like the earlier shamans, can "look into a person and see what is wrong with him—just like X-ray" (see also Siskin 1941:105). With the aid of Peyote he can track down the disease and remove it with prayers. Disease-objects are often vomited out during meetings and are described as having the form of snakes, insects, stones, etc. The roadchief treats the afflicted part of a sick member by fanning it with smoke or by "switching" it with eagle feathers. Leaders conduct small curing sessions for individual Peyotists and non-Peyotists for a subtly defined fee. There is a tendency to "try" various leading Peyotists during a serious illness, calling on them in rotation to conduct meetings "until the right song or prayer makes a connection."

Other changes also suggest the increased integration of the sect into its Washo setting. English is no longer used in prayers or for the conduct of ritual. If a non-Washo is present, important sections of the proceedings are translated for him by one of the roadchief's assistants. Christian elements have diminished considerably; the Bible is no longer a part of the leader's paraphernalia, and biblical references in prayer or conversation are rare.

## II

The ethnological data and tape recordings upon which this paper is based were collected by Warren d'Azevedo over a period of nine months among the Washo Peyotists in 1954 and 1955. Alan P. Merriam made the musical analysis and is responsible for the major portion of the final organization and writing of the paper. Recordings were made in the summer of 1954 on a portable Magnecorder loaned by Radio Station KPFA of Berkeley, California.

The musical sample consists of five song cycles sung by three Washo members of "The Tipi Way" sect described above. One of the singers was the founder and original roadchief of the sect, and all three have been active participants in the religion since the early years of its introduction by Ben Lancaster. Their songs are therefore fully representative of the type and style current among Washo Peyotists. All five cycles were recorded at a single session in the cabin of a leading sect member in Woodfords, California. The occasion was an "open prayer meeting"—one of the informal social gatherings of Peyotists and their non-Peyotist friends for the purpose of singing practice and religious discussion.

To "The Tipi Way" Peyotists, singing is a measure of prestige and spiritual eminence. The most admired singers are the most influential Peyotists, and the degree to which a Peyotist has found "the Way" through the "medicine" is demonstrated by his competence with song, drum, and rattle. It is of equal importance to knowledge of the intricate ritual procedure of meetings, and excellence at both are requirements of leadership. A large repertoire of songs is

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20



also a measure of the man. One who has been able to "catch" many songs is no doubt "living a good life, and the medicine is backing him."

*Instruments and criteria of performance*

Musical instruments of the Washo Peyote singers include rattle and drum; the construction and materials used are as important to the musician as the special skills exerted in playing. The most adroit drummer or rattler feels he has done poorly if he is not satisfied with the qualities of his instrument; he is usually most confident if he has made the drum and rattle himself or if they have been made by a Peyotist he admires. Some of the most highly prized rattles are relatively old and have been passed from owner to owner, each of whom knows the history of its ownership.

The four important elements of the rattle are the gourd, stones, tuft, and handle. The gourd should be perfectly pear-shaped and not too large; the older and more used it is, the better, for this toughens and thins the shell which in turn improves the sound. New gourds are often boiled in oil and lined with pine pitch in an effort to speed this desired effect.

Considerable care and ingenuity is exercised in finding materials which will produce the proper sound inside the gourd; the number of "stones" should always be seven. White flint, which is found in the area and which does not break or wear in the gourd, is used by some singers; it is said to give a high-pitched soft rattle. Other musicians use bits of granite, quartz crystal, hollow brass balls from key chains, or small brass nuts (hardware).

The tuft is the "crown" of the rattle and must give a special and pleasing effect while the rattle is being shaken. It is symbolic of the tuft of the Peyote button, and also of sunburst or sunrise, associations which are very important in the appreciation of the general effect of any rattle. Material used is most often hair from a horse tail, but it may also be feathers—the comb of a cock pheasant, or hummingbird wing feathers.

The handle of the rattle is usually intricately carved or beaded, and a fine handle unscrews into two parts so that the rattle can be folded and packed into a small paraphernalia kit. The beadwork or carving symbolizes various aspects of Peyote ideology; for example, bands of color from bottom to top indicate evening, midnight, daybreak, and sunlight, thus concurring with the steps in Peyote ritual. The mounting of the gourd on the handle is considered extremely important; it must be mounted in such a way that the gourd touches the handle only where the pointed end of the latter fits tightly through the tufted top of the gourd. To achieve this ideal, a shell or silver fitting is placed at the bottom of the gourd; this retains the stones but at the same time allows a free space between fitting and gourd. If touching does occur, the rattle "sounds flat."

In performance it is the singer who holds the rattle, and each has some special rhythmic devices of his own which partly identify his playing. Methods of performance, or criteria as to the importance of rattling, are not highly verbalized among the Washo; responses range from, "the rattle is used to keep

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20



Along with the schisms which have developed in the cult during the breakaway from the Lancaster tradition during the past fifteen years, there is now an emphasis in the Tipi Way faction of the cult on knowing many songs and having different songs arranged into four-song cycles. The arrangement is usually an individual matter, and a person who has learned twelve to twenty-four songs and arranged three or six cycles is considered a very accomplished Peyotist.

However, among those who have remained in Lancaster's original group, the singing of one song through a cycle has become traditional; thus if a man knows ten songs he has material for ten cycles. Individuals in this group have learned as many new songs as have the Tipi Way people, but place a traditional ritualistic importance on singing a single song per cycle. "If you got a good song," they say, "it is your song and it is part of you. Maybe that song is the best one for you." On the other hand, Tipi Way people express the opinion that "it is boring to hear a man repeat the song so many times."

*Sources of songs*

There are apparently two major sources of Peyote songs for the Washo—other people, and on-the-spot inspiration; the former seems to be far the more frequent. Of eighteen songs in the present collection for which the origin is fairly well documented, seventeen were learned from other people. Of these, three were learned from Sound Chief records (1 Cheyenne and 2 Kiowa songs), and fourteen directly from other Peyotists in the period from 1939 to 1947. The listing shows 3 Bannock, 3 Shoshone, 2 Paiute and 1 Klamath ("they sound like any other Peyote song") songs, and five songs which were "learned in Idaho." The singers seem to be least sure of the songs learned by listening to records. Of the others, the individual learns the song from some leader, friend, or even from a stranger at certain meetings in which he has achieved the degree of involvement necessary to absorb the song "all at once," or "so that it just came into my head."

The songs made up by individuals seem also to involve dramatic learnings; the singers say that when one "catches a song" it is learned all at once in a moment of great emotional intensity. Of the single song created by a known individual, the composer commented that it was a song that "just came to me" at a Tipi Way meeting. "I never heard anyone else sing it. Maybe I might have heard it someplace a long time before that, and the meeting helped me to catch it—that happens sometimes. I always sing that song the same way; don't change it none."

Most songs seem to have been embellished, consciously or unconsciously altered over time, combined, improvised, forgotten and "caught" again in new form as one's own. The last are thought of as "new" or "my" songs, but the singer has no inclination to hide the fact that he was influenced by another song, and that "I just changed it a little." Nevertheless, it does become a "new" song.

The following illustrates one of the rare instances of known individual

# A RECONSTRUCTION OF ABORIGINAL WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION[1*]

by Stanley A. Freed

The reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social structure presented here is based upon the publications of earlier investigators and upon data that my wife and I collected in the course of about six months' field work in the summers of 1952, 1953, 1956 and the winter of 1956-57. The major sources on aboriginal Washo social organization are: Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (1941). Our field data consist principally of interviews with 70 informants who ranged in age from 10 to over 80. Genealogical data, kinship terminology, census material, and brief life histories were collected from all informants. The testimony of our older informants regarding aboriginal conditions and the earlier published reports almost always agree, and thereby make possible a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social organization that is probably relatively sound. The changes in Washo social structure since aboriginal times will be mentioned here, but a discussion of the probable causes of these changes has been omitted because such an analysis has appeared in an earlier paper (Freed, 1960).

In addition to a description of kinship terminology, residence rules, marriage patterns and other customary categories of analysis of social organization, this paper will attempt to describe role behavior among kinsmen in aboriginal times. This description is based on data from role profile tests taken by 47 Washo in the winter of 1956-57, and therefore pertains to modern role behavior (Freed, 1960, 365-70). The degree to which these patterns of modern role behavior resemble those of aboriginal times cannot be determined with any certainty because the published sources contain virtually no information on role behavior; also, attempts to elicit statements of aboriginal role behavior from elderly informants were unproductive. However, it is possible to make a tentative estimate of the degree to which modern and aboriginal role behavior resemble each other on the basis of a general appraisal of Washo acculturation. The Washo are still a recognizable group; they speak their own language; and, in modified form, they practice a number of aboriginal culture patterns (Freed, 1960). For these reasons we can assume that role behavior among the modern Washo gives some indication of aboriginal role behavior.

## Kinship Terminology

The kinship terminology of the aboriginal Washo may be established with relative confidence because the terminologies collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) not only agree closely with each other but also with

*Notes are at ends of papers.

The Washo had weak agamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the annual pinenut dance (Freed, 1960, 361). Actually, three "moieties" were present, but one of them divided its members between the other two when participating in games; hence, the system was fundamentually dual. A person belonged to his father's moiety, which often was also his mother's moiety. When people of different moities married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. One of our male informants claims that a woman always joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join the opposite moiety if it were having better luck (Lowie, 1939, 304). The moiety system does not exist today. 616 [178]

Settlements were very small. Lowie (1939, 303) states that the usual settlement had two to four houses, and that no village had as many as 10 houses. Neighbors were often kinsmen, but they might also be non-relatives. Modern Washo settlements are much larger than aboriginal ones; the largest, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of approximately 200. 361 [628] [178] [162]

## Marriage

Curtis (1926, 97) and Barrett (1917, 9) report that polygyny was formerly practiced. Barrett notes that monogamy was as prevalent as polygyny. Lowie (1939, 309) says that both sororal and nonsororal polygyny existed, with a tendency to favor the sororal form because the Washo believed that strange women will fight. Barrett says that a man's choice of subsequent wives was not restricted. Both the sororate and the levirate occurred. Both were correct but not compulsory, according to Lowie. Curtis states that a widow had to marry her husband's brother if he desired her. Our informants support Lowie, both with regard to the preference for sororal as opposed to nonsororal polygyny and the noncompulsory character of the levirate. Polygyny, the sororate, and the levirate are no longer practiced. Many of the modern Washo contract a series of monogamous marriages with the earlier ones often of short duration and the later ones lasting considerably longer. Some Washo remain with their original marriage partners for life. 595 587 595 587 178

## Role Behavior

The following descriptions of the role behavior of relatives in ego's generation and the first ascending and descending generations are based on the role profile test. The relatives of the second and third ascending and descending generations were not included when the test was given. However, a 602 125 554

brief description of the behavior of relatives separated by two or three generations is included. This is based upon observations and a few rather general statements of informants. 602 125 554

The administration and analysis of the role profile tests and the characteristics of the group of people who took them are described in Freed (1960). The role profile test asks 16 questions probing various features of interpersonal behavior. The questionnaire is given below. All the questions are related to four general qualities of interpersonal interaction: dominance, submission, affiliation and hostility. The strongest and purest expressions of these qualities are in questions one (dominance), five (affiliation), nine (submission), and 13 (hostility). The questions between any two of these attempt to combine their qualities in varying degrees. For example, "to teach" (question two) combines dominance and affiliation; "to respect" (question eight) combines affiliation and submission; "to nag" (question 12) combines submission and hostility; and "to refuse help" (question 15) combines hostility and dominance. The data of the role profile test can be quantified, and this permits an objective description and comparison of roles. The quantitative treatment of roles and their similarities and differences is given in Freed (1960). This paper will describe roles only in qualitative terms.

Questionnaire of the Role Profile Test

(The words in parentheses were useful in improving the informants' understanding of the questions)

1. Which relative most often tries to tell you what to do? Which most often gives you orders (or bosses you)?

2. Which relative most often teaches you how to do something? Which one gives you advice or tells you his opinions?

3. Which relative is most likely to help you if you need it?

4. Which relative is most likely to feel bad and sympathize with you when something goes wrong?

5. Which relative is specially fond of you?

6. Which relative most often cooperates (works together) with you?

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7. Which relative depends on you most and most often asks your help?

8. Which relative respects you the most? Which one asks your opinions?

9. Which relative obeys (minds) you if you tell him or her to do something?

10. Which relative is most eager for your approval?

11. Which relative would be the most likely to say or think you did something wrong (or bad)?

12. Which relative nags you most?

13. Which relative disapproves of you and criticizes you most often?

14. Which relative punishes you or gets angry (or mad) if you don't mind or if you do something wrong (or bad)?

15. Which relative is most likely to refuse you help even if you need it pretty badly?

16. Which relative would be most likely not to want to have anything at all to do with you?

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Father. This is a dominant relative. He rates fairly high in affiliation, rather neutral in submission, and generally low in hostility. Despite his low score in hostility, the father is a disciplinarian for both men and women as shown by his high score on question 14 (to punish). Women see him as a mildly suspicious and disapproving figure as shown by a fairly high score on question 11. The role of father differs considerably for men and women in teaching (question 2). A father instructs his sons much more than his daughters.

Father's brother. This role differs markedly for men and women. Father's brother is a much more important relative for men than for women as shown by his higher scores when rated by men on all questions except the last two, which show rejection. The role of father's brother for men is similar to that of father except that father scores significantly higher on the first two questions (to order and to teach). For women, father's brother is an unimportant relative, with low scores on all questions, except the last two.

Father's sister. She is a rather cold and hostile relative for both men and women. She scores high only on hostility (questions 11 to 13) and

rejection (questions 15 and 16). She possesses no disciplinary power either for men or women as shown by her low score on question 14 (to punish). 157 125 602 554

Mother. The mother's role is similar to the father's. She scores high in dominance and affiliation. Her score in submission is higher than father's. She scores low in hostility, but, like father, she is a disciplinarian as indicated by her fairly high score on question 14 (to punish). There is no contradiction between a high score in dominance and also a rather high score in submission. This means only that when the mother becomes old she sometimes may be dependent upon her children. Women see their mothers as much more suspicious than do men, as indicated by the mother's significantly higher score on question 11 (to suspect wrongdoing) when rated by women.

Mother's brother. His scores are neutral in dominance and affiliation and low in submission. He is a more suspicious and hostile figure for women than for men, as shown by his high score on questions 11 (to suspect wrongdoing) and 15 (to refuse help) when rated by women. For men, he is an unimportant relative with low or neutral scores on all questions except the last, which shows rejection.

Mother's sister. This relative is a much more dominating figure for women than for men. She is neutral in affiliation for both men and women, scores higher in submission for males, and scores rather high in hostility for both. Noteworthy features of her role are the high score on question 2 (to teach) for women and the rather high score for both men and women on question 13 (to disapprove).

Older brother. The most noteworthy feature of this role is its neutrality. Older brother's scores are neither very high nor very low on any question. His role is very similar for both men and women. The lack of distinctiveness in the role of older brother is probably due to his position as a relative older than ego yet of the same generation. This gives the role of elder brother elements of both superiority and equality which tend to neutralize each other.

Younger brother. The role of younger brother also lacks distinctive features; the reason is probably the same as in the case of older brother: younger brother is younger than ego, but a member of his generation. The roles of older and younger brother differ considerably in dominance; older brother is much more dominating than younger. The role of younger brother is very similar for men and women.

Older sister. The role of older sister is quite different for men and women. For women, she is a dominating, very cooperative, and rather critical relative as shown by her high scores on questions 1 (to order), 2 (to

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teach), 6 (to cooperate), and 13 (to disapprove). For men, older sister is rather neutral regarding affiliation; she scores somewhat higher on both submission and dominance; and she is a very critical relative, as shown by her high scores on questions 11 (to suspect wrongdoing), 12 (to nag), 13 (to disapprove), 15 (to refuse help), and 16 (to reject).

Younger sister. The role of younger sister is quite similar to that of younger brother. She rates low or neutral in dominance, affiliation and hostility. Her rather high score on question 9 when rated by males shows that she obeys her older brother reasonably well.

Son. Son scores low on dominance and hostility and high on affiliation and submission when rated by men. The role of son is generally the same for women informants, except that son is a somewhat more hostile relative, as shown by his higher scores on questions 12 to 14, when rated by women.

Daughter. For men, daughter scores very low in dominance, neutral in affiliation, and very low in hostility. Her only noticeably high score, when rated by men, is on question 9 (to obey). For women, daughter scores low in dominance, but not nearly as low as she scores for men. Daughter scores higher in affiliation for women than for men, as shown by her higher scores on questions 6 (to cooperate), 7 (to depend), and 8 (to respect). Daughter also scores noticeably higher on question 12 (to nag) for women than for men.

Brother's child. This is a relative with whom there is little interaction either by men or women. Scores are low for almost all questions. Brother's child's highest score is on question 9 (to obey) for men. He ranks very low in dominance, a bit higher in affection, low to neutral in submission, and low in hostility for both men and women.

Sister's child. The role of this relative is very similar to that of brother's child. Her scores are low on all questions. She is a slightly more hostile figure toward men than is brother's child.

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Relatives separated by two or three generations. The outstanding characteristics of behavior between such relatives are affection and the rendering of assistance. We noticed on many occasions that young children take care of their grandparents, especially if the old people are partially incapacitated. Old people are very fond of children. When young married people separate, grandparents sometimes take and rear the children.

[128]

The data from the role profile tests can be organized by question as well as by role. That is, the behavior of all relatives on any one question can be considered together rather than the behavior of any one relative on all

questions as has been done above. The former kind of analysis facilitates comparisons of all roles on any question. This comparison is given in Freed (1960, 369-70) and reveals several interesting features of Washo social organization. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly shown, especially the father, mother, son and daughter relationships. Second, men cooperate with men and women with women. Third, although authority in the society rests in the older people, father's siblings have little authority over brother's daughters and mother's brother has little over sister's son. Fourth, the principal hostile relatives for both men and women are older women: father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Fifth, both patrilineal and matrilineal relatives seem to have equal importance in Washo social organization.

This paper has presented a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social structure and has noted the changes that have taken place since pre-white times. The descriptions of role behavior are based upon data from the modern Washo, but are thought to give some suggestion of aboriginal Washo role behavior because the Washo have retained their group identity and practice, in modified form, a number of aboriginal culture patterns.

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## Notes

1. The field work upon which this paper is based was supported by a grant from the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, to whom my thanks are due. Unless noted otherwise, Washo words are written in a phonemic system devised for Washo by William H. Jacobsen, Jr., who did his work under the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley.

178
562 The apparent relationship between specialists and the disappearance of Washo ceremonies focuses attention upon men, for men were usually the specialists in Washo society. Washo specialists were few, but almost all were men. The leaders of communal deer, rabbit and antelope hunts were men, as [756] were the leaders of war parties. The leader of the pinenut dance was a man. Shamans could be either men or women, but male shamans were probably more common. The two shamans practicing in the early 1950's were both men, and most of the shamans of former days mentioned by informants were men.

Modern conditions have affected the male role more than the female. Cooking and the care of babies, for example, retain their importance while hunting, fishing, and warfare have disappeared or have been considerably [177] reduced in importance. Men have of necessity taken to wage work. As a result the overwhelming power and authority of the larger society impinge more on men than on women and seem to have had the effect of undermining male [554] self-confidence. All specialist roles in Washo society were achieved rather than ascribed and a person attained office through a combination of skill and personality traits. But males may have become reluctant to try to achieve such statuses, knowing the prevailing attitudes of the larger society toward Washo culture. (Compare with Freed, 1960, 370, and Freed and Freed, 1963.)

Women seem better adjusted to modern conditions than men. They are less exposed to the larger society, and much of their interaction is with relatives where they feel sure of themselves. Two of the three surviving Washo ceremonies are life cycle ceremonies, which a woman arranges. No special personality attributes are required and the necessary arrangements involve mainly relatives.

## Conclusion

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105 This paper has described the ceremonies of the Washo and has suggested a reason why some appear on the point of disappearing while others seem capable of surviving, at least for the immediate future. One factor that may be important is the vulnerability of the aboriginal specialist under modern conditions. Therefore, ceremonies dependent upon specialists can disappear suddenly when specialists are no longer available. The surviving ceremonies, all life cycle ceremonies, require no specialists. Most Washo specialists were men, and the vulnerability of the specialists is in accord with the more disruptive effects of the larger society upon men than upon women.

among the Paiute. At the same time there has been an acceptance of white culture in terms of agriculture and livestock-keeping which has placed the Paiute within the American economic system as an identifiable ethnic group. It is interesting, however, to note that the identification with Indians and as Indians, among the Paiute, has resulted in the retention of very little from aboriginal Paiute culture but instead has been marked by a gradual acceptance of more and more of Plains culture, including dances, chiefs and war bonnets (Steward, 1933, plates). This Plains influence may in part explain the tendency toward the development of political organization among the Paiute. The first war leaders, the Shoshoni, were men of prestige; thus, traits they introduced were accepted readily by the Paiute. A corollary of this was the acceptance of the idea that chiefs were men of prestige per se so that even the peace chiefs, i.e., leaders of the anti-war factions who were influential in postwar Paiute life, served as prestigeful culture-bearers. Among the Washo, however, the various "captains" utilized by the whites as points of communication with the Indians appear to have been largely without prestige or particular status among their own people. As these men often took on airs, came to believe their own importance and began to call themselves "chief" the Washo tended to look on them as buffoons or worse and tended to reject any attempt to introduce new ideas through such men.

N 177 178 619 621 N 177 62 554 W 177 554 622

In contrast to Paiute Indian identification, there appears to be among the Washo a reluctance to admit to Indian practices and values. Although there is a relatively high degree of use of aboriginal foods the Washo tend to deny this and often refuse to admit they like or ever eat such foods. Bedrock mortars are often located under brush to escape white notice.

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## Summary and Conclusions

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This paper has attempted to describe the pre-contact situation and post-contact developments in western Nevada. We have seen that at the time of the entry of white men into this area the indigenous population was composed of two major groups, the northern Paiute and the Washo. As we have seen, these two peoples had made generally similar ecological adjustments, depending on hunting and gathering for subsistence. Culturally the Washo appear to share a number of traits with California tribes and seem to be more oriented toward the west than were the Paiute. Socially the two groups were organized in roughly the same manner: independent families operating together in small, loosely structured bands under headmen who were largely without power. Authority roles, such as antelope shaman and rabbit boss, were short lived and functionally specific. Communal hunts provided a basis for the amalgamation of a number of bands for short periods. Large supplies

231 not very good and entered only the minor events. Usually the Washo quite openly express the view that horses are a bother, and they seem to enjoy making remarks about the amount of meat the white man's prize mount might provide. On one occasion a Woodfords Washo had allowed a white man to pasture two horses in a fenced meadow, but he expressed relief that they were [177] gone. It might be mentioned that this man's half-Paiute son, exposed to the [233] agricultural curriculum of public school, wants to raise a sheep in the family meadow. His Washo father chooses to ignore the boy's importuning, but his Paiute mother encourages his ambition.

233 Only one Washo man appears to have attempted to raise cattle. Sur-
554 prisingly, he is a very traditional young man, respected by Peyotists, non-Peyotists, mountain, and valley Washo alike. He is perhaps the only Washo today who might conceivably develop into an effective and generally accepted tribal leader. His small scale cattle operation is conducted on an allotment near Woodfords, on the banks of the Carson River. He has purchased a small tractor with a cutter bar attachment and hay rake. He cuts hay for his [246] stock in his own meadows and those owned by his friends. In exchange for [313] the hay he assists his friends in gathering winter wood. This small cattle [478] enterprise is as yet too young to allow prediction of its eventual success or [178] failure. It is being watched with patronizing interest by local whites. The Washo, however, view the experiment as an unusual departure from expected Washo behavior. A few grudgingly admit that it might yet point a new direction for their people.

123 It should be mentioned that I found Washo attitudes, when asked about
124 pets or animal husbandry, to be embarrassment, curt, almost hostile, reluc-
231 tance to comment, or confusion. Otherwise loquacious informants were apt to lapse into speechlessness when asked about domestic animals. Informants who claimed an impossibly total recall concerning times past (often years before their birth) seemed to experience memory lapses when asked about horses or cattle. A man who discussed with enthusiasm the minute details of the life and habits of game animals lapsed into embarrassed silence when asked why he kept a rabbit in a hutch near his house. In fact, his only response to the question was to disclaim ownership and state that he was keeping it for a friend.

224 As stated earlier, not all Washo hunt, but almost all men retain a
825 lively interest in hunting and wild animals. One informant, generally conceded by other Washo to have hunting medicine, approached a discussion of native fauna with the enthusiasm and attention to detail of a zoologist. He invariably referred to the various species as if he were using a personal name, speaking of Wolf, Bear, Coyote, Deer, and using a personal pronoun. With obvious enjoyment he would describe the intelligence of various animals he

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20



his car was fruitlessly searched three times by the California border patrol. At least a dozen persons claim definite knowledge that Ben added marihuana to the cigarettes he gave in meetings. Lane Dixon (P,1), a graduate of the Nevada Reform School, who has served several short jail sentences and locally is known to be a congenital liar, was informer for the Federal officers. He assured me, also, that marihuana was used because he had smoked marihuana cigarettes and felt the same sensations others described experiencing from eating peyote.[a] The basis for this accusation is Ben's practice of mixing a "white powder" in prayer cigarettes and burning those cigarettes after meeting ("to destroy the evidence"). Ben put some in my prayer cigarette and afterward gave me a sample from his large supply. It was a type of sage leaf chopped fine.

Federal authorities also suspect that Spanish fly (cantharides) has at times been given to girls in peyote meetings. Since I could obtain no real evidence of any display of sexual excitement during or following meetings, and since Lane Dixon is the principal source for the story, I doubt the charge.

The desire for prestige, or the fear of losing it, motivates Washo and Paiute reactions toward peyotism. Members seemed to enjoy vicariously some of the honor and position of their leader. Ben talked with Commissioner Collier (November, 1937), he spoke before the Minden Rotary Club (October, 1937), he prepared an attractive peyote exhibit for the Carson Valley Day Fair.[b] On the other hand, Hank Pete, self-styled chief of the Washo, naturally protests against submission to the rules of the peyote ceremony and to the authority of Ben Lancaster, feeling it detracts from his own prestige. Another nonmember argues, "The President of the United States and the white people in this valley don't use peyote." Shamans probably fear the loss of both money and honor, and, therefore, in the main oppose peyote, notable exceptions being Joe Green, Tom Mitchell, and Sam Dick.

Arguments for and against peyotism have been based on economic grounds. Ben's insistence that contributions are free-will offerings seems to have attracted a few who consider a peyote meeting cheaper than, yet equal to, a shamanistic treatment for which a price, from $2.50 to $5.00 a night, is fixed and paid in advance. The willingness of peyotists to donate liberally probably results from their having been conditioned to paying their shamans well, a practice which still continues, especially among the Washo. Having given up liquor, several reiterate that in spite of traveling expenses and contributions they have more money than formerly for food, clothing, shelter. Don James epigrammatized: "A dime now goes as far as a dollar used to." Several peyotists have recently purchased automobiles. A few may imagine economic gain by picturing themselves replacing Ben Lancaster. However, in his meetings, Sam Dick, the most likely successor, hardly collects expenses. Perhaps some of the Indians wish to associate with the influential Jameses and Arnots, who might provide them with jobs.

Economic objections to peyote, such as that Ben gets too much money, that the Indians should use their money for better purposes, and so on, are mainly rationalizations because the Washo-Paiute are typically unconcerned about their fellow man's economic condition, even when, as often happens, their poorer kinfolk move in

[a] From Bromberg's (1939, 4–12) review of the reactions caused by marihuana, which are increased motor activity, mental confusion, talkativeness, increased desire for alcohol, and sexual excitement, it is clear that marihuana and peyote produce opposite effects. Also, see Lundquist, 1939, 2, for the Schurz missionary report of the use of marihuana with peyote by Nevada Indians at a "National Fellowship of Indian Workers." Rev. G. E. E. Lundquist, who visited Schurz in 1938, heard Lane Dixon confirm the story.

[b] Sam Dick spoke and had peyotists sing at the Fair in 1939 (personal communication from Miss Grace Dangberg of Minden).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20



compatibility explanation of this situation. That 14 per cent of the Indians near the center of peyotist activity accepted the cult prohibits the conclusion that it was culturally incompatible; on the other hand, a majority opposition proves that cultural compatibility alone would not insure its general acceptance.

Questions naturally arise from this lack of uniformity in participation. What makes some Indians accept and others reject the new religion? Do peyotists form a distinct cultural or social subdivision of the society? Do they have common characteristics, status, economic position, etc., which unite them and distinguish them from others? Do peyotists belong to a distinct socio-economic group? The answers come from data procured in the field concerning 1000 Indians, the total adult population in the communities where peyote was most enthusiastically accepted.

As one would expect in a group which aboriginally recognized distinction solely on the basis of personality and achievement, the Washo and Northern Paiute have no mechanism for class or group social status. Individuals are today, as formerly, judged according to their ability. Therefore, personal performance is the one practicable criterion upon which categories of social participation might be established. Besides determining the number of adherents to the cult, information was obtained concerning financial status, willingness to work, use of alcoholic drinks, activity in Christian missions, shamanism, election to tribal councils, and degree of Indian blood. Personal observations were supplemented by the opinions of Carson Agency social workers; merchants who trade with Indians at Fallon, Colville, and Woodfords; Indian Service doctors at Wellington, Yerington, and Bishop; and the subagent at Fallon Reservation. These people went over lists of Indians in their vicinities, checking those outstanding for the characteristics here listed. There was no important disagreement when two or more people appraised the same individual.

The results of this count, presented in full in table 3 in Appendix III, show that the peyote cult attracted a representative percentage of the population. Neither the member group nor the nonmember group have in common any social traits which distinguish them from each other. For example, 5.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 5.7 per cent of the peyotists were outstandingly prosperous; 1.7 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were noted for not drinking; 1.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were or had been shamans; 13.1 per cent and 10.9 per cent respectively of the nonpeyotists and peyotists were of mixed blood."

Were it possible to psychoanalyze a representative sample of the cult members and its opponents, we might find personality types peculiar to each group in meaningful percentages. Probably, however, we should find great differences within each component of the society, and also numerous similarities between the two. Although the behavior and history of some individuals seem to explain why they react

[n] Some correlation between social status and acceptance of new culture elements has been reported. Shimkin tells me that although the peyotists constitute only about 30 per cent of Wind River Shoshone population, they make up over 50 per cent of the participants in the Episcopalian mission, the Ghost Dance, the Sun Dance, and the tribal council. They belong to the half of the tribe which can be designated as participators, in contrast to the half of nonparticipators. It is difficult to say which is cause, which effect, but such a correlation certainly suggests a causal relationship. Phillco Nash writes (p. 441) that those who joined the 1870 Ghost Dance on the Klamath Reservation could be placed in a single category: those who attempted to accept white culture and were economically disappointed. They constituted a group apart from both those who resisted innovation and the agency Indian employees who made a successful reorientation. Barnett concludes (pp. 27–28) that the culturally maladjusted—the mixed-bloods, widows, invalids, etc.—unite to form a recognizable section of Hupa society which has espoused the Shaker religion. Jenks (101–107) wrote that mixed-bloods develop peculiar attitudes which place them in the vanguard in accepting new culture traits.